

/123 cont./

162

Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).

621

Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguyan) and child.

126

I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance

115

that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaĩf language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342

824

The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe occupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.

[343]

There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandĩ. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164

352

I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee- /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be

353

waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old

123

[357]

[283]

man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú 7
7 [Cf. glossary on p. 170 -- Analyst

/162 cont. /

512

I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

[482]

[854]

592

[352]

[252]

We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353]

Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijús are roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

[354]

[251]

[252]

[323]

352

We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412

[353]

[135]

The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/170 cont. /

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art,
/171/ the most interesting article was: a burití shirt -- "the"
shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of
[286] clothing even among the Bakairí. The fibers were knotted
in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the
doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it
had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which
long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long burití-fiber
372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had
237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells,
535



In the Bakairí festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle
534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle
instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds,
impaled on a stick (1).

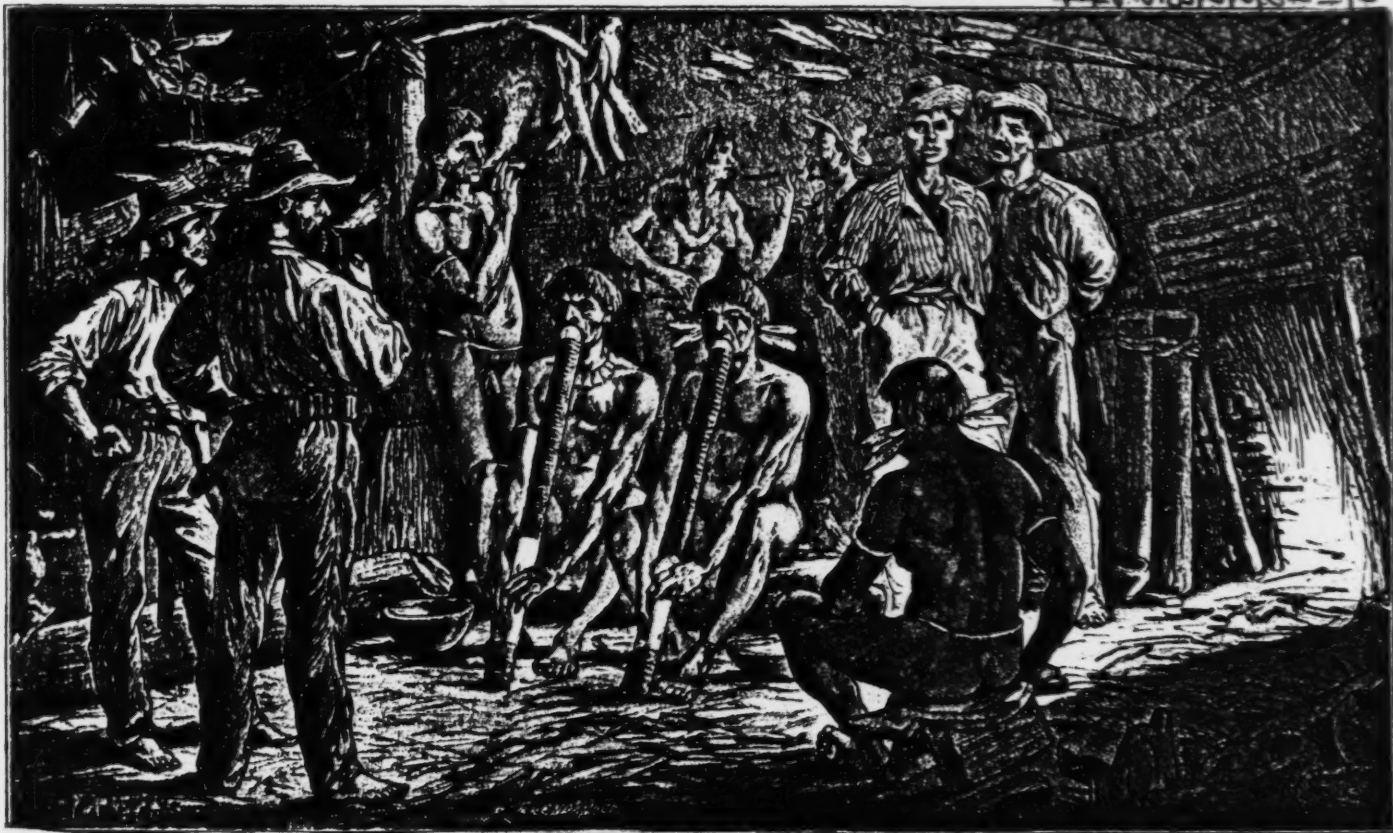
[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppín
Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows
like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure
scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a
little stick through it, cut a little hole in
it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

142
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342
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415
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854

I: Steinen--56 D,E-5 (1884) 1886

SP7 Bakaïri SP7



Flute duet among the Bakaïri.

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisitively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swinging in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/196 cont./

*171 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks
291 stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as
136 one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans ex-
951 tremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites,
in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves
full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their
expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips
of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that
one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful
inflamed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind.
The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed
with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt
and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has
bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as
close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the
little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its
abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being
torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort
to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the
situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful.
I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians en-
joy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, in-
creeping in-
sects can in like manner afflict the South American forest
dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground
in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made
*171 clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American
136 tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the
352 English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word.
516 Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea.
751 The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by custom-
arily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit
down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar
occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting
position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened to-
gether as an underlayer, even when they are in the house,
which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

/237 cont./

*171 Bakaïrf used for the very differently constructed carrying basket.
 285 The accompanying illustration /see Fig. 31, p. 247/ shows
 [482] the three-walled carrying basket used by all tribes, the "mayáku" of the Bakaïrf, while the manner in which it is carried, hanging from the head with a bast loop, may be seen in the picture of Tumayaua, Plate 6 /see p. 40/. The contents were covered with leaves, which are also used to line the inside; then the side walls were bound together as tightly as possible. Small back-baskets were even hung on children.

The storage baskets for the mandioca flour should also be mentioned. While the lower tribes had clumsy supply baskets, resembling the back-baskets in form, those of the Bakaïrf (oádu) were the product of careful work. Five or six thin poles as tall as a man were put together with a couple of cross-rings of vines to form a circular framework supported in some way, this was lined with Heliconia leaves, several of which were strung over one another with thread, spread out, and on the outside wound in horizontal circular turns with reddish pindahyba bast from bottom to top, with the bast knotted continuously from piece to piece. While this type of basket was therefore unplaited, there were others with an open, hexagonal /238/ mesh plaiting, which were likewise lined with leaves. The baskets were hung by strips of embira.

[372] The plaiting of mats did not play an important role. Small fan-shaped or square mats for fanning the fire were very pretty.
 [352] Larger mats for sleeping were lacking, since hammocks were used.
 [252] Mats were used in the preparation of flour, first of all drying mats plaited out of palm leaves, and then sieve-mats consisting of four-edged small reed rods knotted together with cross-threads for sifting and pressing out the roots grated on the grating boards studded with palm spines. Similar rod mats served as cases for storing feather ornaments. The feathers were placed in them as in a file folder; the mat was then held stiff by means of three clamps, one each on the top, on the bottom, and in the middle, made by bending split reed stalks together and, with the cut side lying against them, stretching them across transversally and tying the projecting ends together at the right.

/238 cont./

*171 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrî does it
283 consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

[531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrî leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls
[43] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrî and Mehinakû, which
[574] were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which
286 need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 The Bakaïrî hammock represents a rather loose net, long,
352 rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

/239 cont./

- 286 ropes is produced, and, on the other hand, the longitudinal
 ● 352 threads, uncrossed here for a length of 30-35 centimeters, diverge from this fixed point toward the net when it is stretched out.

*171 Besides this typical cotton hammock, there is a hammock
 286 in which the warp consists of buriti palm-fiber thread and only
 352 the woof is of cotton. And, to be sure, this cotton woof may be limited to only a few transverse threads, which ran at intervals of 10-20 centimeters among the Mehinakú. The buriti-hammock is native among the Nu-Aruak tribes. The docile Bakaíri on the Paranatinga also had it, and they told me that their old chief, Caetano, had first introduced it. The palm-fiber hammocks were usually of the same length or even longer (up to two and three-fourths meters) than the cotton hammocks, but not one meter wide, so that the comfortable diagonal position which the Brazilian quite rightly likes to assume was almost impossible.

A third type was produced by the more abundant use of cotton. Thus, among the Auetô, we saw all the transitions from a space of six to seven centimeters between the /240/ cotton transverse threads to a space of one or two centimeters, or even half a centimeter. Finally, however, the cotton threads were pressed so closely together that one could no longer see the palm fiber, and a strong cloth, worked almost as tightly as sailcloth, was produced. Here the palm-fiber longitudinal thread, about one and a half millimeters wide, was wound with two pairs of cotton transverse threads that crossed, not singly, but doubled, between it and the next longitudinal thread. Naturally, the long sides of the hammock were densely studded with knots; at the four ends the strands were allowed to hang down a bit and ended in tassels. In many cases, at intervals of about 40 centimeters, bluish-black transverse stripes were achieved by the use of dyed cotton. Otherwise all hammocks were brown: the cotton hammock, as well as the one of palm fiber, which was already light brown in its natural color, was colored a dirty brown by the bodies oiled with urucú red.

/240 cont./

*191 The hammocks of pure cotton were a specialty of the Bakaïrî;
286 among them, too, buriti hammocks could be found even on the
352 Kulisehu. The stoutest cloth was made by the Auetö. The ham-
mocks for small children among the Nahuquá were peculiar:
merely a bundle of stalks tied together at the top and bottom and
hung up.

Thus, the most varied forms existed and were in the process
of becoming uniform. The Suyá were still sleeping on large
palm-straw mats following the custom of the Gês. When we
visited them, they were on the point of adopting the hammock;
they had a few specimens and were weaving some themselves.
Perhaps the art came from the Trumaí women whom they had
with them. After my journey of 1884 I pointed out the parallel-
ism between the Schingú region and the Guianas, namely, that
in both areas the cotton hammock seems to be native to the
Karaiben, the palm-fiber hammock to the Nu-Aruak, and that
furthermore this ethnographic conformity corresponds exactly to
the linguistic one. In both cases, the technique arises from
plaiting, only the material is different. The Bakaïrî were the
most backward; they did not have the cloth-like fabric. It is
(283) also striking that their spinning whorls, although they completely
fulfilled their purpose, were less artistic than among the other
tribes.

*191 A parallel technique was shown in a type of sieve-mat. The
285 stalks were covered more or less closely with cotton yarn, so
415 that stiff and at the same time very flexible, tight mats were
produced, between which the mandioca was pressed dry. We
also saw pieces of cloth used for the same purpose.

*191 Gourd vessels. The fruits of Crescentia cujeté /C. cujete/
415 and the cucurbit Lagenaria provide vessels of the most diverse
(82) shapes. There are some that are ball-shaped, cucumber-shaped,
bottle-shaped, hourglass-shaped, as well as many others of an
irregular nature; after cutting them in two one obtains correspond-
ingly shaped bowls. The green fruits are tied into the desired
shape; the hourglass shape, in particular, is a product of this
method. In order /Pl. XV appears here/ /241/ to divide them

[Text continues on p. 254]

2: Steinen--323E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP6

Waura SP18
Mehinaku
Nahuqua SP25
Nahuqua

W
Y
412
531
/285 cont./

Combs were decorated with carving among the Mehinakú and Nahuquá. Hard wooden rods form the teeth, are plaited to-

gether in the center section, and, to be sure, often with an attractive rhomboid design, and are held together at the top and bottom of the plaiting by an additional pair of bamboo cross-strips.

A
[412]
←

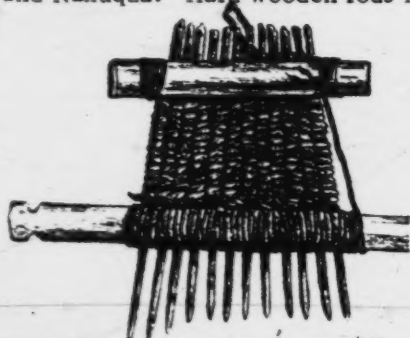
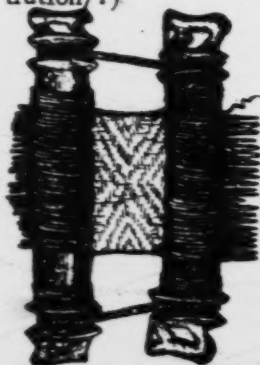


Fig. 79. Comb. Auetö. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

W
Y
412
531
532
825



/286/ Cf. the Auetö comb, Figure 79.

A more advanced technique replaces the lashed strips with cross-sticks in which a longitudinal plate is cut out; the comb is pushed through this. Comb-holders of this type up to 18 centimeters long have small animal figures mounted on each end, so that one comb has four of them. With their tools of fish-teeth and shells, how-

Fig. 80. Comb with jaguars. Mehinakú. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B
[352]



Fig. 81. Stool. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

ever, the people were unable to turn out delicate figures. The head was usually joined to the base by a "proboscis," just as the

Auetō SP6
Kamayurá SP7
Wauya SP18
Mehinakú
Yarumá SP25
Nahugua

/286 cont. /

W
Y
4/12
531
532
825
[113]
W
Y
[113]
B
x(171)
352
br/>onze horses of our monuments often seem to have run a post through their bodies; if the combs had been excavated, the unknown makers would forthwith be identified as having immigrated from regions where there were elephants or walruses. The figures on the Mehinakú comb illustrated in No. 80 /see p. 323/ are jaguars, similar ones from the Nahuquá and no less difficult for us to identify, represented the agutí, Dasyprocta aguti, a leaping, rabbit-like rodent. Here, too, the motifs for the combs are comprehensible. The colorful jaguar and the agutí, "or the golden hare, as it is doubtless called because of its pretty fur, one of the handsomest members of the family" (Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, p. 583), whose glistening fur shows a lovely iridescence when the animal moves or in changing light, are both characterized by strikingly beautiful fur. The agutí washes itself even more assiduously than the cat.

The chief products of carving art are the stools for sitting. It is noteworthy that the Bakaíri call them apúka and the Auetō and Kamayurá apükáp, the former is the borrowed word, since Tupí has the related verb stem aypg, "to sit down," etc. The simplest form (Fig. 81 /see p. 323/) consists of a rectangular, slightly concave seat-plate and two small supporting boards running along it lengthwise, with rail-like prolongations front and back, but all worked out of one /287/ piece. An average size is 42 centimeters long, 19 centimeters wide, and 14 centimeters high; there were little things 21 x 10 centimeters and seven centimeters high, which were tricky to sit on. There were not many specimens of either these simple ones or the more artful ones, but they were always to be found in the house of the chief and were offered to the guest. The seat-plate sometimes had a /Fig. 82 appears here/ more oval form which was prolonged front and back into a triangular tail piece and represented a fish.

W
A
352
532
825
We saw bird figures most commonly. Thus we acquired a tujujú stork, Mycteria americana, from the Kamayurá (Fig. 82 /see p. 325/), and among the Mehinakú (Fig. 83) a wood-ibis, /Fig. 83 appears here/ Tantalus loculator, called jabiru or João grande, big John, by the Brazilians. The two animals differ

/257 cont. /

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
 825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the
 hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping";
 in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks,
 taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our
 land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said
 concerning the shadowy character of the Yamūras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
 174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the
Yamūras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions
 of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before
 they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by
 water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba-
 bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they
 appear at their festivals.

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
 539 Yamūra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
 776 the earth from which he derives his sustenance. Subsistence,
 however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of
 time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious
 being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living
 with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does
 not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals,
 walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach,
 as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could
 paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamūra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
 789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamūra goes into the
 824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
 302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--
 fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves
 with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamūra
 thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/21 cont. /

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht
uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition,"
loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Seflor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which
communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other
rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique
and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for
guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldeia could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was
entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
622 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen.
115 He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works
about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./

622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I
was most generously accommodated in her house although
Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's
house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the ham-
mocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who
was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in
the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in
black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed
the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations
known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared
in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower
lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[87] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As al-
ready mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the
house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but
he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá,
so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga
Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in

159 Talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his step-
father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls
of the first aldeia of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus
damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldeia.
The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldeia
caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of
my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to ac-
company me to that aldeia because he had learned that its

/33 cont. /

226 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/. "

114 At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchán fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24^e and 25.

[23] Cacique Felipe that his aldeia, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchán. Later at the aldeia, then situated farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchán, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the
177 Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton
283 thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning
352 the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

114 Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they
177 said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for
304 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
 [415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
 [285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
 262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
 224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
 [241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
 were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
 were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
 Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
 476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
 622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
 individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
 old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
 241 generally depended on the participation of all the aldeas. When
 476 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
 527 kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
 501 jabatá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
 [824] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
 [82] panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
 574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
 the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
 called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
 181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
 622 aldeas had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
 624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
 [643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
 The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
 of the aldeas, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
 self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
 and juridical.

[P. 90-A]

	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
175 Rio Novo.....	6	16	19	20	55
162 Paranatinga.....	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village.....	3	10	7	9	26
Second village.....	4	18	17	7	42
Third village.....	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village.....	7	27	18	8	53
Total.....	30	90	81	66	237

175 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi
 161 in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi
 [142] and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where
 [36] Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

- 361 While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utandri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisê*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tastêra*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.
- 346 In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoëti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoëti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

- 251 In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirdu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*káiko*).
- 346 Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amáka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

[P. 70-B]

252 wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from
4/5 gourds.

484 As the Bacairi were extensive travelers and
238 depended upon fish for a considerable part of
501 their food supply, canoes were an important part
of their equipment. The Bacairi canoe (*pépi*)
396 was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The
[824] tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-
half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on
the inside of the bark trough to make it curl.
Braces were placed at intervals along the entire
length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was
squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end.

501 Bacairi canoes varied in size, the larger ones being
able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá
bark are used by the Bacairi today and are the
[171] predominant type among the Indians of the

4/5 Upper Xingú. The Bacairi also made large
[824] tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling
vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc

252 contains a fine powder or starch which settles on
the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the
liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairi
241 formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood.

411 For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or
[824] slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½
meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish
wood which was first matured by burying it in
mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of
imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from

[233] cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting
arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for
shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no
412 feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairi consisted

489 of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and
482 shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over
land, goods were carried in a wicker basket sup-
ported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

291 While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River,
[171] the Bacairi, in common with the other Upper
Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men
sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*)
around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in
front. Women, after puberty, wore the uluri.

302 Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their
hair long at the back but cut straight across over

[4/2] the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made
[833] by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

[P. 79-A]

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japi feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Burity Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodbye and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.⁴ On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairi were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairi say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Canis velulus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugeterie II* 8. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

135
P25

⁴ Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoría has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simão Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.